"When and how do we move from hui to do-ey?"

A Diachronic Study on the Lexical Presence of Maori in New Zealand English 1996-2012

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Tämän pro gradu-tutkielman aihe on Uuden-Seelannin englanti, erityisesti sen tärkeimmäksi luonnehdittu piirre, eli lainasanat Uuden-Seelannin alkuperäisväestön kielestä, maorista. Lainasanojen esiintyvyyttä Uuden-Seelannin englannissa tutkitaan The Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English (CNZNE) –korpuksen avulla, jonka pohjalta oli mahdollista suorittaa diakroninen tutkimus vuosien 1996 ja 2012 välillä perustuen uusi-seelantilaiseen sanomalehtiaineistoon.

Uuden-Seelannin englanti on yksi maailman nuorimmista englanneista, vain noin 150 vuotta vanha. Tästä syystä se on ainutlaatuinen siinä mielessä, että lähestulkoon sen koko historia on voitu dokumentoida, jopa äänitallenteina. Ennen englantia puhuvia uudisasukkaita Uuden-Seelannin saarilla oli kuitenkin asunut jo lähes tuhannen vuoden ajan alkuperäiskansa, maorit. Heidän kohtalonsa on valitettavasti ollut sama kuin melkein kaikkien muiden alkuperäiskansojen, jotka ovat joutuneet tekemisiin ulkomaisen vallanpitäjän kanssa; heistä on tullut vähemmistö omassa maassaan, ja heidän kielensä on vaarassa kuolla sukupuuttoon.

Alun perin taloudellisista mutta myös sosio-poliittisista syistä Uudessa-Seelannissa tapahtui suuri kulttuurinen muutos 1970-luvulla, minkä seurauksena maorikulttuuri koki eräänlaisen "renessanssin", minkä ansiosta kulttuuria ja kieltä alettiin jälleen kunnioittaa ja elvyttää. Myös Uuden-Seelannin englantiin lainattiin paljon uusia sanoja maorista tähän aikaan, ja vanhoja lainoja alettiin käyttää enemmän. Monet maorisanojen esiintyvyyttä ja ihmisten perehtyneisyyttä niiden merkitykseen tutkivat kielitieteilijät ovatkin sitä mieltä, että maorisanoja käytetään nykyään Uuden-Seelannin englannissa yhä enemmän, ja ihmiset tuntevat sanoja paremmin. Kaiken lisäksi vaikuttaa siltä, että sanoja käyttävät nykyään myös uusi-seelantilaiset, jotka eivät ole maoreja, merkitsemään Uuden-Seelannin identiteettiään puhuessaan.

Tätä tutkielmaa varten valittiin 15 maorista lainattua sanaa, joita etsittiin korpuksesta. Lisäksi neljän sanan esiintymiskontekstit käytiin läpi tarkoituksena löytää sanoja yleiskontekstissa, joka ei temaattisesti liittyisi maoreihin. Tulokset osoittavat että kaikkia paitsi kahta tutkituista sanoista käytettiin enemmän vuoden 2012 aineistossa kuin vuoden 1996 (tai 1997) aineistossa. Kaiken kaikkiaan maorisanojen esiintyvyys oli melko pientä. Kontekstianalyysi paljasti, että kolmea neljästä sanasta käytettiin myös neutraalissa kontekstissa englanninkielisen sanan paikalla ilman että sanalla viitattiin suoraan maorikontekstiin. Silti, vain sanan *hikoi* (rauhanomainen protestimarssi) käyttö kasvoi neutraalissa merkityksessä. Kannustavaa oli kuitenkin nähdä sanoja *hui* (tapaaminen, kokous) ja *whanau* (perhe, suku) käytettävän fraasimaisissa ja usein humoristisissa lauseyhteyksissä, minkä voi ajatella olevan merkki sanojen hyväksymisestä uusi-seelantilaisten arkikieleen. Kaiken kaikkiaan tulosten perusteella voi sanoa, että maorisanoja vaikutettaisiin käytettävän yhä enemmän uusi-seelantilaisissa sanomalehdissä, eikä enää pelkästään maoreihin liittyvissä konteksteissa.

Avainsanat: englanti, Uusi-Seelanti, maori, lainasanat, korpuslingvistiikka, postkoloniaalinen

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1 INTRODUCTION

It does not seem unreasonable to state that no other language has ever had a similar position globally as English does today. It is to all intents and purposes a universal language, a lingua franca, the language of communication across nations, of politics, commercial activity as well as international travel and the media worldwide (Schneider 2007, 1). In other words, English has become 'the world language of our time', even if it no one ever planned it that way (Algeo & Pyles 2004, 203). It is simply a case of historical chance that English has nowadays become the language with the most use for its speakers and learners – there is no 'inherent virtue' in English *per se* to account for its unprecedented global spread (ibid., 222).

Then again, even if it is practically universal, English is far from being a completely uniform language. Indeed, the English language has shown remarkable adaptability as it has spread around the world, diversifying and 'grow[ing] local roots', thriving and 'produc[ing] innovative, regionally distinctive forms and uses of its own' in the process (Schneider 2007, 1-2). As a direct consequence of the colonial expansion of the British Empire from late 16th to the 20th century, English is now the indigenized mother tongue of several nations other than the mother country, not to mention the countries where it is an important second language. In the course of history, unique new varieties of English have been born out of intercultural encounters, where English has been transplanted to a new place and contact made between the indigenous languages and cultures and the English-speaking settlers. The indigenized varieties of English that have been formed in these circumstances are truly special as linguistic hybrids that mirror the history and peculiarities of the cultures in which they are spoken.

These Postcolonial Englishes (or PCEs) have been of special interest to linguists studying not only English, but also language change among other things in the recent past, and continue to fascinate scholars as a relatively new field of inquiry with subjects that are still developing in some cases. Such subjects would be for example the varieties of English that have come into being as a result of the

exploration of the Pacific by the British Empire in the 17th and 18th centuries, an exploration that was quickly followed by the colonization and settlement of Australasia and South Africa (ibid., 3). The Englishes spoken in Australia and New Zealand, although already distinct from the original British English spoken in these places in the beginning of their settlement, are still developing further characteristics of their own.

This thesis focuses on the New Zealand variety of English, and more specifically one of its defining features. In addition to the sounds of New Zealand English (or NZE), recognized worldwide as unique, the feature that truly makes the variety one of a kind are surely the many borrowings from the language of the indigenous people of New Zealand, the Maori, who have inhabited the islands of New Zealand since long before the arrival of European settlers. Nowadays, because the Maori culture is an increasingly important part of the general New Zealand culture, these words are used by both Maori and Pakeha ('New Zealander of European descent') New Zealanders alike to mark their national identity when speaking New Zealand English. The most prominent example of this would be the word *Kiwi*, one of the oldest Maori borrowings, which has come to mean 'New Zealander' in not only New Zealand English, but indeed worldwide.

Based on existing studies and the trajectory of development predicted by them, the hypothesis in this thesis is that Maori borrowings are used more and more in New Zealand English in written as well as spoken language. The Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English provides data for the present study attempting to confirm this hypothesis. A growing familiarity with an increasing number of Maori vocabulary items is also expected, reflected in the decreasing need to translate or gloss Maori words in the discourse studied here. In addition, I expect to find instances of Maori words used in a non-Maori context, principally in the 2012 data, to further fortify the notion that Maori words are used by both Maori and non-Maori New Zealanders, and also about both Maori and non-Maori topics. This would be a further indication of Maori vocabulary, as well as culture, being an essential, integrated part of the New Zealand (linguistic) identity.

To test my hypothesis, I will set out to answer the following research questions:

1) Does the use of Maori words increase diachronically?
2) Which Maori words are glossed, and does this tendency change diachronically?
3) In which contexts are Maori words used?

This thesis is organized as follows. First, I will introduce the background for this thesis in the second chapter, beginning with general history of New Zealand and New Zealand English in section 2.1. An integral part of this discussion are sections 2.1.1. and 2.1.2, which deal with the Maori and the lexicon of NZE, respectively. Special attention is given to Maori words as part of the NZE lexicon, as they are the focus of this thesis. The following section, 2.2., is a more detailed look into the development of New Zealand English, based on Edgar W. Schneider's Dynamic Model for the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes. I will also discuss linguistic borrowing both in a more general and in the more specific New Zealand context in section 2.3., and finally provide a brief summary of some relevant previous studies that have been conducted on the presence of Maori words in NZE in section 2.4. The third chapter of this thesis is dedicated to introducing the data (section 3.1.) and method (3.2.) used to carry out the research for this study. What follows is the fourth chapter, dedicated to data analysis, introducing the findings of my study and drawing conclusions based on these findings. I will discuss the answers to my first and second research questions (number of words and glosses used) in section 4.1., and to the third question (word context) in its own section, namely 4.2. After discussing and summarizing the results of the data analysis in section 4.3., I will provide the conclusion for the thesis in the fifth and final chapter.

2 BACKGROUND

In this chapter, the background of this thesis will be presented, including the general and linguistic history of New Zealand, some of the special features and the development of the New Zealand variety of English, as well as general theory on linguistic borrowing in the context of Postcolonial Englishes, and finally, some previous studies that have inspired this thesis. The focus of this chapter is on what makes New Zealand English unique among the different varieties of English around the world, a uniqueness that comes mostly from the variety's lexicon, and even more prominently its borrowings from the language of the indigenous people of the land, the Maori. For this reason, the history of the Maori people, their language and co-existence with the Anglophone colonizers are also discussed in some detail. All these abovementioned sections are inevitably entwined with the one on the development of New Zealand English, which will be based on The Dynamic Model for the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes by Edgar W. Schneider. By putting New Zealand English in the context of Schneider's model as well as discussing some general reasons for borrowing and relating these to the New Zealand English context as a Postcolonial English, a groundwork is laid for the present study, which attempts to shed light on the variety's track of development both in the past and in the future.

2.1. New Zealand and New Zealand English

In accordance with the overall brief history of New Zealand as a country inhabited by people of European descent, New Zealand English is one of the youngest varieties of English in the world. Its history goes back only 150 years to the 19th century, when people mostly from Europe began colonizing the islands of New Zealand (Hay et al. 2008, 84). For this reason, the variety is rather exceptional. Because of its short history, NZE's birth and development has been well documented, offering linguists a unique opportunity to map the general processes of language development in great detail. The most significant single source of data are the recordings made by the Mobile Disc Recording Unit of the New Zealand Broadcasting service in the 1940s (Gordon et al. 2004, 4), with

the aim of, among other things, familiarizing all New Zealanders with the variety of ways of living and speaking there were throughout the country at the time (ibid., 3). In so doing, the Mobile Disc Unit ended up recording an important piece of the linguistic history of New Zealand English, as many of the older people interviewed for these recordings were the earliest New Zealand-born European settlers (ibid., 2). These recordings served as the data for the Origins of New Zealand English project (ONZE), established in 1996 (ibid., 4), the results of which 'provide insights into the actual processes of language change and the formation of new dialects in general' (ibid., 2). Indeed, scholars such as Peter Trudgill and Edgar W. Schneider, authors of theories on how varieties of language emerge, have been able to test their theories based on the unique body of data that exists on NZE practically from the time of its conception. Schneider's theory in the New Zealand context will be dealt with in more detail in section 2.2. illustrating the historical development of NZE.

Technically, the history of Anglophone New Zealand began already in 1769, when Captain James Cook made landfall and claimed the islands to the British crown (Hay et al. 2008, 4). The first permanent European settlements were established at the end of the century, at which time English was still but a minority language used by missionaries, sailors and traders newly come to the country (Kuiper & Bell 1999, 11). The situation began changing around 1830, as the British saw the need to begin governing this new country with a firmer hand, establishing English as the language of colonial administration, in addition to which English was the language of most of the arriving settlers, continually increasing in number (Kuiper & Bell 1999, 11). The official beginning of British sovereignty over New Zealand came with the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (Hay et al. 2008, 4), an agreement between the British and the indigenous people of the land, signalling the beginning of the systematic colonization of New Zealand (Macalister 2006a, 85). The ever increasing flow of settlers into New Zealand meant that in less than twenty years, in 1858, the number of people of European descent exceeded that of the indigenous people, the Maori (Hay et al. 2008, 4-5).

2.1.1. The Maori

The Maori, a people descended from Polynesian voyagers, have lived on the islands of New Zealand or Aotearoa (the Maori name for New Zealand) since approximately a thousand years ago (Hay et al 2008, 3; Harlow 2007, 1). Since the arrival of the Europeans, the numbers of the Maori began to decrease dramatically, even to the point where their extinction was feared (Harlow 2007, 192). The Treaty of Waitangi, marking the official beginning of New Zealand as a British colony in 1840, is still perceived as controversial because the degree to which the terms of the contract and its consequences were clear to the Maori chiefs who signed the treaty remains disputed (Schneider 2007, 128). The chiefs were assured that their authority was to be retained and respected (ibid.), and that the Maori people would be protected. History, however, tells a different story; after 1840, the numbers of the Maori began to dwindle as a consequence of disease and dispossession (Harlow 2007, 192). Initiatives of public health, among others, succeeded in preventing the Maori people from dying out, however.

The Maori people may have survived, but their position in New Zealand has forever changed; at present, they constitute only around 15% of the total population of New Zealand (www.stats.govt.nz). Much like many indigenous peoples around the world, the Maori continue to face challenges in the current society, whose standards are set by the dominant Pakeha culture. According to Stubbe & Holmes, it is the Maori who are of necessity bicultural, because '[a] Pakeha perspective … predominates in New Zealand society, often without it being explicitly acknowledged' (1999, 249). The Maori people have certainly experienced a total change in all the aspects of their life under colonial rule, most notably concerning their day-to-day lives and language. What used to be a people living in relatively small tribal communities, basing their knowledge on a rich oral tradition, are now a highly urbanized people almost monolingual in English, with a far more rich literal tradition than spoken one in their heritage language (Harlow 2007).

Indeed, the situation continues to be a precarious one for their language, *te reo Maori*. According to Ray Harlow, the 200 years of contact with English 'could hardly have had more radical effects' (2007, 193). By the end of the 20th century, as much as 90% of New Zealanders were monolingual in English (although the number has since come down slightly), according to Kuiper & Bell (1999, 13), while only less than 5% of New Zealanders claimed to speak Maori (Hay et al. 2008, 11). There have been continuous efforts to revive the Maori language, up to and ever since it was made an official language of New Zealand in 1987, but the situation is complicated by several factors. For one, the language shift the Maori have gone through means that most Maori speakers today are either elderly or young second language speakers (Harlow 2007, 2); the language is no longer transmitted in the family from generation to generation. Secondly, the number of domains in which Maori is spoken has been greatly reduced; at present, Maori is mostly associated with traditional, formal contexts, such as speechmaking at the *marae* ('Maori meeting-house and/or the courtyard in front of the house') (ibid., 196).

On a more positive note, written Maori is used in diverse genres, and public performances of Maori, such as the *haka* ('posture dance') of the New Zealand rugby team the All Blacks, are recognized throughout the world (ibid., 8). Maori also 'enjoys a significant place in public policy and the media in New Zealand' (ibid., 2). Although the teaching of Maori in schools in the past is likened to that of Latin, remarked of being discouraging to thinking about Maori as a living language (ibid., 201), Maori-medium education has been encouraged since the 1980s, when the first Maori immersion pre-schools, or *kohanga reo* ('language nest') were founded (ibid., 202). Since then, Maori-medium education up to the tertiary level has also been initiated (ibid., 203-4). Despite continuing efforts to revive the language, however, some linguists have predicted the eventual extinction of te reo Maori. Still, at least Maori's partial survival as words within New Zealand English, as discussed by for example Bellett (1995, 74), is guaranteed.

An interesting linguistic development concerning the co-existence of Maori and English is a variety most often referred to as Maori English (ME). The existence of this variety has been acknowledged for a long time, even if linguists have not been able to agree on what Maori English actually is. It has been suggested, among other things, that Maori English is an ethnic dialect, a social dialect of New Zealand English, a contextually variable register or perhaps just a stereotype (Holmes & Ainsworth 1996, 75). To add to the confusion, many studies trying to empirically isolate the variety and its characteristics have often failed to do so in the past. According to Allan Bell, some of these past problems might have been due to linguists' wrongful expectations; Maori English might not be a clearly bound, separate variety from New Zealand English, but have rather relative than absolute differences to NZE (1999, 222).

One of the most widely recognized characteristics of Maori English is its speech timing: '[i]t has been suggested that ME is more syllable-timed than Pakeha English, ie. all syllables, not just stressed syllables, occur at roughly equal time intervals' (Holmes & Ainsworth 1996, 75). Studies such as the one carried out by Holmes and Ainsworth found that even though Pakeha English, or general New Zealand English, as well, is characterized by a less stress-timed rhythm than for example British English, syllable-timing characterized the speech of Maori speakers to a greater degree than that of Pakeha New Zealanders (ibid., 83). An obvious explanation for this always seemed the influence of the Maori language, as Maori is a mora-timed (a timing system similar to syllable timing) language (ibid., 76, 81). This was not conclusively proven until Vowell et al.'s study (2013), however. Based on an analysis of data from the MAONZE (The Maori and New Zealand English) project (a sister project to ONZE, discussed in section 2.1.), Vowell et al. were able to conclude that 'it is extremely likely that the less stress-timed rhythm of ME has … developed from the rhythm of the Maori language' (2013, 84).

Some other features that have been suggested to be characteristic of Maori English seem to be the result of the influence of the Maori language as well, such as the use of the *eh*-particle, the

affrication of *th*/*dh*-sequences and non-aspiration of /t/ (Bell 1999, 243). Bell hypothesizes that these features are a result of transference from Maori, even though he admits they might not simply be features that are transferred into English by first-language Maori speakers, as most ME speakers nowadays are first-language speakers of English (ibid., 223-4). Furthermore, as pointed out by Vowell et al., not all Maori speak Maori English, and not all Maori English speakers are Maori (2013, 65). Thus, there seems to be a certain social aspect, or an identity function to Maori English. Bell notes that some features of Maori English might function as identity markers (1999, 224), and Vowell et al. assume likewise that using a more syllable-timed rhythm in their speech could be a way of marking their identity for younger ethnically Maori New Zealanders, who cannot speak the Maori language (2013, 84). What is more, even Maori who can speak the Maori language face the problem of the limited contexts in which Maori can be used, and might for that reason want to mark their identity in their speech in other ways (Stubbe & Holmes 1999, 250).

The most relevant feature of Maori English, and the speech of Maori people in general, in terms of the present study is that the use of Maori words is a prominent feature of these speakers (Hay et al., 2008, 107; Stubbe & Holmes 1999, 251). Maori lexical items might thus be another way for Maori people to signal their Maori identity, but this also means that Maori words are likely to occur in conjunction with Maori topics (Stubbe & Holmes 1999, 255). Then again, the basis for the present study is the assumption and observation that Maori words are used in general New Zealand English in increasing numbers by all of its speakers, not just those of Maori origin. Vowell et al.'s observations on the rhythmic patterns of young non-Maori New Zealanders might have similar motivations than the use of Maori words; the shift towards a less stress-timed rhythm might according to them be seen as a reflection of 'a growing sense of identity with Maori culture as part of their New Zealand identity' (2013, 85). I will return to the reasons why non-Maori New Zealanders might want to use Maori words in section 2.3. in connection with some general aspects of linguistic borrowing.

2.1.2. New Zealand English Lexicon

On a general level, New Zealand English shares a large part of its vocabulary with other varieties of English, especially its mother variety British English, as well as with Australian English, because of obvious historical ties and the countries' geographical proximity (Hay et al. 2008, 67). As much as 95% of NZE's vocabulary is estimated to be shared with other varieties of English, leaving the remaining 5% for the so called "New Zealandisms", or words specific to NZE (ibid., 66). Many of these distinctive features of New Zealand English vocabulary have their origin in how Captain Cook and his men came to describe the country on their three visits to the islands (ibid.). According to Hay et al., Captain Cook and his men were not only quick to borrow Maori words into English, but also to create new words and use existing words with different meanings when writing their descriptions about the Maori people, their culture and customs, as well as the flora and fauna of New Zealand (ibid., 65-66). In other words, what is unique to the NZE lexicon, has generally come into being through one of three processes: borrowing, coinage or semantic extension (Deverson 1999, 30).

The topic of the present study, that is Maori words borrowed into New Zealand English, are widely considered to be the most distinctive feature of the variety. For example Elizabeth Gordon, one of the leading scholars in the studies on NZE, asserts that '[n]o other variety of English in the world has Maori words. This is what makes New Zealand English unique.' (quoted in Davies & Maclagan 2006, 97). These borrowings have mainly come into NZE in two waves, which mark the initial contact between English and Maori, as well as a new era of interest in the indigenous people of the land since the 1970s.

The first wave of borrowings took place up to about 1860, and was motivated by the needs of the settlers to be able to talk about their new setting, its plant life and animals, not to mention the concepts relating to the indigenous culture of the country, i.e. the Maori (Rankine et al. 2009, 176). This first wave of borrowings thus consists to a large part of names for flora and fauna, basic concepts and items of Maori society and culture, as well as Maori place names (Hay et al. 2008, 68).

Accordingly, the first wave words describing Maori items and concepts are in their nature very basic (for example *kai* 'food', *wahine* 'woman', *whare* 'house'; Hay et al. 2008, 69).

The second wave, beginning around 1970, on the other hand, has been largely motivated by the needs of the Maori (Rankine et al. 2009, 176), as it coincides with the so called Maori Renaissance, a new-found appreciation of all things Maori. The Maori Renaissance addressed the inequality between the English and Maori languages with its very existence, drawing attention to the fact that there were virtually no words borrowed into English from Maori between the years 1860-1970 (Hay et al. 2008, 70). Many of the second wave Maori borrowings describe culturally specific, more refined concepts that may be difficult to translate, such as *mana whenua* 'title, customary rights over land, sovereignty over land' (ibid., 71). This change in the type of words illustrates the change in atmosphere surrounding Maori borrowings; as mentioned, the second wave was more motivated by the needs of the Maori than the dominant Anglophone society. As fewer Maori are able to speak Maori in their daily lives, both because they do not know the language and also because they have such few opportunities to do so, it is reasonable to assume that they would want to speak about their native culture in more depth even in English. Indeed, to quote John Macalister, '[i]t is … generally accepted that the Maori word presence in New Zealand English has been increasing for almost 40 years, reflecting social and cultural changes since around 1970.' (2008, 76).

2.2. The Dynamic Model for the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes and the historical development of New Zealand English

Picking up on the history of New Zealand and New Zealand English, in this section I will elaborate on the general process of the development of New Zealand English in the historical context of New Zealand from the 18th century up to the present day. This discussion is based on Edgar W. Schneider's Dynamic Model for the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes, which is a very detailed and convenient theoretical frame in which to present the different phases New Zealand English has gone through in

its development. Schneider's model is also relevant to the present study because Schneider discusses the role of the Maori in the formation of NZE.

Edgar W. Schneider's Dynamic Model for the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes (or PCEs) is a relatively new theory according to which all postcolonial varieties of English, including New Zealand English, are formed along fairly uniform paths of development due to similarities in setting and other important factors. Schneider proposes this model as follows:

> (1) In the process of the English language being uprooted and relocated in colonial and postcolonial history, PCEs have emerged by undergoing a fundamentally uniform process which can be described as a progression of five characteristic stages: *foundation*, *exonormative stabilization*, *nativization*, *endonormative stabilization*, and *differentiation*.
>
> (2) The participant groups of this process experience it in complementary ways, from the perspective of the colonizers (STL strand) or that of the colonized (IDG strand), with these developmental strands getting more closely intertwined and their linguistic correlates, in an ongoing process of mutual linguistic accommodation, approximating each other in the course of time.
>
> (3) The stages and strands of this process are ultimately caused by and signify reconstructions of group identities of all participating communities, with respect to the erstwhile source society of the colonizing group, to one another, and to the land which they jointly inhabit.
>
> Schneider 2007, 32-3 (my emphasis)

What follows is a look at the aforementioned five stages of Schneider's model in the New Zealand context, highlighting and connecting the aspects most relevant to the present study to what has already been said about the history of New Zealand and the characteristics of New Zealand English.

Phase one, foundation, took place in New Zealand approximately between the years 1790 and 1840. In this phase the numbers of settlers remain relatively small (ibid., 33). Initial contact is made, both between the settlers (dialect contact) and the indigenous population of the country (language contact), although contact between the settlers and the native people is in general still limited at this point, heavily reliant on translators, who tend to be members of the indigenous population (ibid., 34). As is typical of all such colonial language contact situations, the first and most readily borrowed

words from Maori were toponyms, or place names. Around 57% of New Zealand places names have been estimated to be of Maori origin (ibid., 128).

The beginning of phase two, exonormative stabilization, is marked in New Zealand by the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, establishing a stable colonial status (ibid.). This expansion of foreign dominance over New Zealand led to increasing contact with the Maori, even conflicts (ibid.). Questions of identity concerning both the STL strand and the IDG one begin to complicate. The identity of the settlers could be characterized as a "British plus" identity (ibid., 37), incorporating their still close-remaining ties to Britain with their new colonial experience. Furthermore, the first children born in this new setting develop hybrid identities (ibid.), making them the "pioneers" of a separate New Zealand identity. When it comes to the Maori, Schneider characterizes their self-image as 'shaky' at this point: 'on the one hand, they ceded their homeland more or less voluntarily and welcomed the white men, on the other their culture and freedom were threatened, and there was overt resistance' (ibid., 129). Linguistically, more and more Maori became bilingual at this point, due to English having become an asset to the indigenous population (ibid., 37-8). Concerning English, the lexical borrowing from Maori expanded from place names to local flora and fauna as well as cultural items and customs at this stage (ibid., 129) (which corresponds with the first wave of Maori borrowings mentioned in connection with NZE lexicon in section 2.1.2.).

The transition from phase two to phase three, nativization, took place around the year 1907, when New Zealand gained a Dominion status (ibid.). This third phase is described by Schneider as 'the most interesting and important … the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation' (ibid., 40). Socio-politically, this phase is characterized by an increasing distance from the British Empire, even though loyalty to and association with Britain continues. In New Zealand, the loosening ties with Britain eventually lead to the country's full independence in 1947 (ibid., 130). Both strands regard themselves as permanent residents of the territory at this point, and their communication is daily and common (ibid., 41). Corresponding with the socio-politically changing atmosphere, there

is a feeling of fundamental change in the speaker community at this point, as the combining of the old and new identities in the colonial setting becomes increasingly difficult; practical issues arise as the communication between the parties involved continues to increase (ibid., 40).

As a result of the increasing interaction between the two strands in this phase, the indigenous people are going through acculturation and language shift to a growing degree, the end result of which is sometimes as dramatic as the death of the indigenous language(s) (ibid., 42). The Maori, as well, experienced a major shift from the Maori language to English at this time (ibid., 130), and, as already discussed, the Maori language has become an endangered language, the survival of which is still not guaranteed.

Linguistically, phase three is characterized by nativization and indigenization (ibid.). According to Schneider 'the changed state of affairs and the new identity constructions increasingly find linguistic expression and turn into markers of this new identity' (ibid., 44). Localisms, in this case the "New Zealandisms" already discussed, begin to emerge. These include further Maori loans, hybrid compounds with Maori words, new compounds and words with shifted semantic meaning (ibid., 130). As these localisms gained ground with other new, native developments in the New Zealand variety of English, the so called "complaint tradition" was born, due to more conservative speakers who did not readily accept the new variety complaining about these developments; this phenomenon is particularly well documented in New Zealand (ibid.). This tradition had its heyday before NZE stopped being treated as a corrupted version of British English around the 1960s (Gordon et al. 2004, 6-7).

The shift to phase four, endonormative stabilization, is in New Zealand's case signaled by an "Event-X", or 'some exceptional, quasi-catastrophic political event' (Schneider 2007, 48-9), which in this case was Britain joining the EU in 1973, meaning the loss of an almost exclusive export market for New Zealand, which needed to be followed with a restructuring of the economy of the country (ibid., 131). In addition to the political independence New Zealand had already gained in 1947, this

"Event-X" resulted in a 'new sense of self-dependence, a regionally rooted identity construction' (ibid.), or a kind of spiritual independence. Linguistically, this manifests in 'a new, locally rooted linguistic self-confidence', and a general positive evaluation of the local variety of English, which at this point is distinct from the original variety (ibid., 49-50). Importantly, this new-found self-dependence and regionally rooted identity construction include the IDG strand; a new-found appreciation of the Maori language and culture became at this time an important part of the New Zealand identity (ibid., 131), both linguistically and in spirit. One of the consequences of this new value given to the Maori language and culture was the borrowing of new Maori words, as well as the increased use of the existing loans (Macalister 2007, 493). Interestingly, this development would seem to correspond with the third phase of Schneider's model rather than the fourth, but according to John Macalister this 'continuing nativization' is a reflection of the social and political changes in the 1970s New Zealand (ibid.), manifesting itself as the Maori Renaissance and the second wave of borrowings as discussed in the previous section. Macalister also notes that this phenomenon of ongoing nativization might be unique to New Zealand, because of the special circumstances of the relationship between the Maori and English languages (ibid., 504).

As a result of this regionally-based identity construction in the fourth stage, there tends to be great linguistic homogeneity during this time, concerning both regional and ethnic differences (be the homogeneity true or exaggerated for national unity), as it was the case with New Zealand English up to about the 1990s (Schneider 2007, 131). As its speakers are now confident with this distinct variety of theirs, an interest in codifying it usually emerges at this stage, in the form of national dictionaries and grammars (ibid., 52), which has been the case in New Zealand as well.

New Zealand seems to have moved into the fifth and final phase of Schneider's model, differentiation, around the 1990s, thus relatively recently (ibid., 132). This means that the characteristic dialectal fragmentation in the form of social and regional dialects of this final phase is

still ongoing in New Zealand (ibid.). Maori English, as already discussed, is one prominent example of the dialectal fragmentation of New Zealand English thus far.

2.3. Lexical borrowing

In this section the phenomenon of lexical borrowing is discussed in more detail, relating the phenomenon to both the general context of Postcolonial Englishes as well as the more specific New Zealand English context as presented in the previous sections. Attitudes in connection with the use of Maori borrowings in NZE will also be discussed, with the aim of providing a basis for the assumption that Maori borrowings are an increasingly popular characteristic of NZE.

English is a language that contains a great amount of foreign material, or words that speakers of English have adopted from other languages for their own use. Indeed, it can be said that linguistic borrowing, or the transference of lexical material from one language to another, is a phenomenon that has had a significant impact on the English language (Zenner et al. 2013, 1; Algeo & Pyles 2004, 271). In fact, 'an overwhelming majority' of the entries in any dictionary and also a significant part of the everyday items of an English speaker's vocabulary are either borrowed words or words formed from elements of borrowed words (Algeo & Pyles 2004, 271). In the case of English this is not surprising when you consider the language's history; as Edgar W. Schneider puts it, 'it is obvious that language is closely related to culture, and in many ways it is a mirror of the culture which is expressed by it' (2007, 88). Thus, it is not surprising that English should exhibit extensive signs of its history as a language that has constantly been in contact with other languages and cultures across the world.

In these language contact situations, such as those in places where Postcolonial Englishes have arisen, it is highly usual that there is 'transition of some kind of linguistic material from a source language to a recipient language' (Schneider 2007, 107). The most common type of linguistic borrowing, '[t]he easiest and most obvious case' is the borrowing of words, or lexical borrowing (Zenner et al. 2013, 2; Schneider 2007, 107). The borrowing of grammatical items and morphemes is

more rare, and often involves ‘some sort of restructuring’ in the recipient language (Schneider 2007, 107). When borrowed, loanwords usually go through at least partial adaptation to the sounds and grammar of the language that borrows the words (Algeo & Pyles 2004, 271).

As discussed in the previous section, according to Schneider’s Dynamic Model there are striking similarities in the tracks of development of all Postcolonial Englishes. This goes for their lexical evolution as well: all PCEs go through lexical expansion at one time or another (Schneider 2007, 78). This expansion is an important step towards the distinctness of a variety, as it provides the variety with more “local flavour”. Similar to New Zealand English, all PCEs have expanded their vocabularies by borrowing words, coining new ones or extending the meaning of existing words (ibid.). As illustrated with the example New Zealand English in section 2.1.2., the phases in which words from specific semantic domains are borrowed are always organized so that toponyms or place names are the first ones to be borrowed, followed by flora and fauna terms, and then words for culturally distinctive items and customs (ibid., 79).

According to Schneider, toponyms are most readily borrowed because they are often perceived as “just being”, and not having been assigned to the places by anyone. Place names might also not be perceived as having any meaning other than the denotation of the place (ibid.). Thus, the original place names given by the indigenous people are often retained because they are thought of as the “natural” or “real” names of the places.

Settlers are usually quick to borrow words for the local flora and fauna, also because these things seem to pre-exist the settlers, and thus have “natural”, native names that are often preferred. Although these words are often seen as simply having always been there, as well, they are usually somewhat more meaningful than place names (ibid.).

The third semantic domain to be borrowed from are words denoting culturally specific items and customs of the indigenous people. These words similarly are preferred because they and the concepts they denote pre-exist the settlers in their minds. Concerning these words, Schneider

comments that ‘with increasing involvement, cultural exposure, and mixture these items increasingly become parts of their own world in one way or another. Uses of such terms abound in indigenous texts’ (ibid., 80). Thus, these words usually become the central, most important, even identity-defining borrowings of a given PCE.

In case of the Maori loanwords in New Zealand English, it was already concluded in the previous two sections that, in addition to the first wave of borrowings that corresponds to Schneider’s phases of lexical expansion, there is the phenomenon of ‘continuing nativization’ in New Zealand English, due to the unique circumstances of today’s New Zealand and New Zealand in the recent past. New Maori words were borrowed into New Zealand English from the 1970s onwards because the surrounding culture was going through change that was consequently mirrored in the language. As this change seems to still be ongoing, the way in which Maori words are used in the speech and writing of New Zealanders is also subject to change. These developments are an encouraging continuation to the story of the Maori people that seemed rather grim in the 19th century. Based on the evidence of linguistic borrowing, the Maori have done much better in New Zealand than for example the Celts in the UK or the Native Americans in the USA; compared to the meagre contributions of mostly place names of these languages to the Englishes spoken in the UK and the USA (Algeo & Pyles 2004, 277), the amount and range of Maori words in use within New Zealand English is much greater. These differences are a subtle but all the same valid indication of the degree of acceptance that these indigenous cultures have gained, and the degree to which these peoples have been subjugated by a foreign power (ibid.).

The adaptation of Maori borrowings into New Zealand English has been the source of some debate, however, especially when it comes to pronunciation and the conventions of their grammatical adaptation, which has changed in the course of the years. In Maori, words are pluralized by using a plural article rather than adding to or changing the word, but in the past especially Maori borrowings were commonly pluralized with *–s*, indicating compliance with the grammar of English. Davies and

Maclagan quote the style guide, in use up to the year 2001, of the New Zealand newspaper *The Press*, as stating that they 'are not printing a bilingual newspaper' (2006, 87), in essence meaning that the grammatical adaptation of Maori into English norms was officially encouraged in the newspapers up to about 2001. Since then, the pluralization of Maori words has decreased or even stopped completely, at least in the written media (ibid., 89). In case of frequent or established loanwords such as Kiwi, however, the words are integrated into the New Zealand English lexicon to such a degree that they fully conform to the English grammar, meaning they are regularly pluralized with *–s* (Onysko & Calude 2013, 165). Interestingly, the words Maori and Pakeha, similar to Kiwi, are not usually pluralized with *–s* after the year 2002 (ibid.). According to Davies and Maclagan, the general tendency of not pluralizing Maori words with *–s* is ultimately a sign of the growing acceptance and better social and political status of Maori (2006, 89).

As noted in the previous section in connection to the development phases of New Zealand English, Maori words have become a marker of not only Maori identity, but also of a New Zealand identity for Pakeha New Zealanders since the social and political changes that took place in the country since the 1970s. Since then, New Zealanders have looked to their own country as the basis for their cultural and linguistic identity. This change in mentality lead to the discovery that what was most unique about New Zealand, and New Zealand English for that matter, were the Maori culture and language. Consequently, the words borrowed from Maori, both before and after the 1970s, gained a whole new status. In this new atmosphere, Maori words have acquired multiple functions beyond their simple loanword status. Of course, they are still borrowed and used for cultural reference, to fill in gaps in the lexicon, for economy of expression in the case of some intricate Maori concepts, or clarity of meaning in case of a concept that is difficult to translate into English (Macalister 2007, 500-3). In addition, Maori words are increasingly used as a solidarity marker, to display empathy towards the Maori people and their values and aspirations, as well as a positive attitude towards the Maori and their language (Stubbe & Holmes 1999, 255; Macalister 2007, 502). Furthermore, Macalister notes

that Maori words are used increasingly to make an impact, be it to political and even humorous ends (see example 3 further in this thesis for an illustration) (2007, 502).

2.4. Previous studies on Maori vocabulary in New Zealand English

This section introduces some previous studies that have investigated the lexical presence of Maori in New Zealand English, as well as New Zealanders' familiarity with Maori borrowings. Many scholars behind these studies begin their articles by saying that there is a general feeling in New Zealand that Maori words are used more and more, especially in spoken NZE. Many different types of studies have been conducted to verify whether this hunch is accurate, and whether it also applies to the written media. Especially the first decade of the 21st century saw many different studies into the matter, some of the most referenced of which are Macalister's studies on New Zealanders' familiarity with Maori borrowings (Macalister 2006a, 2006b, 2008) as well as Davies and Maclagan's study on the presence of 13 Maori borrowings in newspapers from 1997 to 2004 (Davies & Maclagan 2006). Both Macalister's and Davies and Maclagan's findings are cautiously encouraging, noting a trend of increasing use of and familiarity with Maori loanwords.

Among the earlier studies referred to in this thesis is Donella Bellett's survey studying New Zealanders' familiarity with Maori borrowings in 1995. Bellett regards increasing biculturalism as the desired effect of more Maori words being used in New Zealand English, although at the time it was thought that in a pessimistic future Maori might only survive as borrowings within NZE (Bellett 1995, 73-4). Bellett's questionnaire comprised of 100 Maori words and phrases, to which written answers were required instead of multiple choice (cf. Macalister), and only some of which were names for flora and fauna, or other older borrowings that are generally more familiar to all New Zealanders (ibid., 79).The most interesting was the finding that people identifying as Pakeha/Maori had scored higher than people identifying as Maori. Bellett's explanation was that people who would choose to identify as both Pakeha and Maori (most likely being of mixed descent) were more likely to have taken positive steps towards identifying with their Maori ancestry, as a consequence of which

these people would probably be more familiar with the Maori language as well (ibid., 90). Even with a confirmed initially hypothesized average of 40 Maori words in the subjects' vocabulary, Bellett concludes by saying that '[a]lthough basic knowledge of Maori lexicon was demonstrated by the majority of subjects, very few subjects could go beyond this.' (ibid., 93).

John Macalister's input to the studies of Maori words in NZE has been considerable. In the early 2000s, he constructed the largest corpus containing written New Zealand English at the time (Macalister 2006a), based on which he gauged the diachronic trends in the use of Maori words, among other things. The corpus contained text from the years 1850 to 2000, including newspaper data, parliamentary debates and the School Journals (ibid., 84, 90-3), a publication produced to serve as reading material for New Zealand school children. Important have also been Macalister's studies into New Zealanders' familiarity with Maori borrowings (Macalister 2006b, 2008).

The 2006 and 2008 instances of Macalister's word familiarity studies served as inspiration for this thesis, which is consequently attempting to further verify his findings. Macalister's 50 word item questionnaire was implemented on two occasions, in 2002 and 2007 (Macalister 2008, 75). His premise was to attempt to illustrate whether the fact that Maori words are used more in New Zealand English (according to his and others' corpus data) also means that people are more familiar with Maori borrowings.

Macalister's questionnaire was somewhat different from the aforementioned one used by Bellett, as Macalister used multiple choice instead of open slots for answers. Other than that, Macalister's assessment of Bellett's study was that the words she used were perhaps chosen too subjectively (2006b, 103), and I might add, judged rather strictly. The words used in Macalister's questionnaire were based on the most popular word types of his NZE corpus, 50 of which were chosen and classified into three categories of flora & fauna, material culture and social culture words (ibid., 103-4).

Macalister's 2006 study found that New Zealanders identifying as Maori were most familiar with material and social culture words, whereas Pakeha New Zealanders were most familiar with the flora & fauna words (ibid., 114-6). Based on the overall scores, Macalister divided the words into categories of familiarity in percentages, with the highest category, 80-100% familiarity, indicating a well-established, integrated status of a word into New Zealand English. 36% of flora & fauna words, 18% of material culture and 12% of social culture words were deemed to be established Maori loanwords based on Macalister's study (ibid., 118). More interesting than that, however, is the category of 40-59% familiarity, as it is according to Macalister the category the words in which have the greatest potential of becoming better known in the future. Interestingly, 40% of the social culture words were in this category, compared to only 7% for the flora & fauna and 18% for material culture words (ibid.). Thus, Macalister predicts in his 2006 study that especially the social culture words will probably continue to become more familiar to speakers of New Zealand English. In addition Macalister also considers Bellett and others' estimate of around 40-50 Maori words being familiar to an average speaker of NZE as an underestimate (ibid., 119).

Macalister begins the article dealing with his second implementation of the questionnaire by asserting that Maori words and phrases are a means for even non-Maori New Zealanders to express their New Zealand identity (2008, 75). He believes that the Maori culture and language are increasingly more important as the basis and expression of national identity for all New Zealanders (ibid., 77). The second iteration of Macalister's questionnaire did indeed confirm that the social culture words especially had become more familiar to speakers of NZE, indicating these words' potential of being the leading contributor to future Maori loans in NZE (ibid., 88). Familiarity with flora & fauna as well as material culture words, on the other hand, had remained constant between the years 2002-2007 (ibid., 87). This time, it was New Zealanders identifying as Maori who scored highest in all the three categories of words (ibid., 82-4).

Davies and Maclagan's 2006 study was based on four different New Zealand newspapers and had data from the year 1997 to 2004. Their approach was not strictly frequency-based, as what they counted was the number of news items that included one or more Maori borrowings, rather than counting individual instances of Maori vocabulary items (Davies & Maclagan 2006, 78). In general, Davies and Maclagan found that there seems to be diachronic increase in news items containing one or more Maori words, especially when it comes to words having to do with social culture, as theorized by Macalister, whose classifications were used in Davies and Maclagan's study (ibid., 96). Furthermore, Davies and Maclagan found that at least the words *hui* ('meeting') and *hikoi* ('march'), were also used in non-Maori contexts in their data, marking the words as well-established borrowings that function as a part of the everyday repertoire of a speaker of New Zealand English (ibid., 91).

3 DATA & METHOD

This chapter is dedicated to introducing the data and method of the present study, as well as presenting the details of what was studied. First, I will present the corpus used for this study, that is The Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English (CNZNE), and its important features. Next, I will discuss the general methodology behind this thesis, or corpus linguistics, as well as advantages and disadvantages of this field of inquiry. Concluding this chapter is a detailed look into the particulars of this study, namely the 15 Maori borrowings that were studied in the corpus data and why these particular borrowings were chosen.

3.1 Data: The Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English (CNZNE)

The primary source of data for the present study is the Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English (CNZNE), originally compiled by Paul Rickman at the University of Tampere. The data comes from the archives of Fairfax Media New Zealand, from where the digitized versions of 13 provincial and metropolitan New Zealand newspapers were extracted (Rickman 2018, 43). Fairfax Media continues to be one of the main media groups in Australasia, its New Zealand publications spanning the length of New Zealand (Rickman 2017, 171).

The version of CNZNE used by Rickman comprises two subsections, the first containing data from the years 1995-98, and the second from the years 2010-12, consisting of some 100 million words altogether (Rickman 2018, 43). Subsection 1 was purposefully compiled to parallel the newspaper subsection of the British National Corpus, to enable comparison between the corpora (Rickman 2017, 172). Adjustments were made concerning the composition of the corpus, excluding the service information the newspapers contained, such as lists, sports results, tv-programmes, share prices and weather forecasts, the content of which was not deemed meaningful for linguistic analysis (ibid., 174, following Macalister 2001). There was also an issue with duplicate tokens in section 2 of the corpus, arising from the fact that sometime in between the sampled time periods the newspapers seemed to

increasingly get into the habit of sharing articles, with slight or no paraphrasing of the text – a tendency enabled by the fact that the newspapers are all owned by the one and same media company (ibid., 174).

For the present study, a full version of the corpus was used, containing some 795 000 000 words, with continuous data from the year 1996 to 2012. Thus, the corpus was different to that described by Rickman, who used a 'trimmed down' version of the corpus, to eliminate the problem with duplicates, among other reasons (Rickman, personal communication). However, duplicates did not pose an issue in terms of tokens to the present study either, because the amount of data studied was relatively small and all entries were manually checked.

As the main aim of the present study was to conduct a diachronic comparison of the amount of Maori borrowings used in New Zealand newspapers, the oldest and newest data were the natural choice for the data set used for the study. Two subcorpora were created for this purpose, one containing all the data from the year 1996, the other from the year 2012. The 1996 subcorpus contains some 8 550 000 words, and the 2012 some 19 600 000 words[1]. The issue of the difference in size of the corpora was remedied by calculating the normalized frequencies for all the results (see next section for a more detailed discussion on corpus linguistics and presenting statistics).

Of the corpus in general, Rickman notes that '[t]he short diachronic window of half a generation allows insight into possible change in progress' (Rickman 2018, 43), which is the desired result of the present study as well.

3.2. Method: corpus linguistics

The present study is based on the Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English as presented above and has been conducted using corpus linguistics methodology. Indeed, corpus linguistics is by many

[1] A further 1997 subcorpus was created (containing some 26 100 000 words) because three of the fifteen words did not appear in the 1996 data, but information was needed on their earlier frequency to be able to make diachronic comparisons.

considered to be first and foremost a methodology rather than a field of inquiry *per se* (Lindquist 2009, 1; Meyer 2002, 28), as what most corpus linguists actually study are not the corpora themselves, but their contents, or the body of texts that constitute a corpus. Then again, as Hans Lindquist argues, corpus linguistics is the study of language in use (2009, 1), as a corpus in its most basic form is a compilation of naturally occurring language data, be it written or spoken.

Corpus linguistics has its roots in 1960s, although it did not become immediately popular at the time (Meyer 2002, 1). In the course of the years, corpus linguistics has gained ground as an 'exciting methodological development', especially after developments in technology have allowed for more efficiency and more comprehensive analyses (ibid., 141). In general it can be said that today corpora are a valuable resource for linguists for general theoretical and practical purposes, in addition to descriptive and applied discussions of language (ibid., 28).

On a general level, then, being composed of naturally occurring instances of language, corpora offer opportunities for linguists from various fields to engage in analysis of '"real" language' (Meyer 2002, xiv). In addition to merely representing and providing illustrations of "real" language, corpus data has many advantages for the study of language. Corpus data is objective and easily shared, thus verifiable; corpus data is ideal for the study of language variation both globally as well as intra-lingually, concerning dialects, registers and styles; with corpus data, it is easy to assign a frequency for a given linguistic feature; corpora enable the study of language features in context (Lindquist 2009, 9, following Svartvik 1992). Admittedly, the study of corpus data is not without its limitations and issues: being necessarily limited in scope, whereas language is not, corpora can never provide an exhaustive analysis of language; corpus data always requires manual analysis; one always needs a theory of language to explain the findings and to know what to search for in a corpus in the first place (ibid., 9-10). Still, corpora have been proven to be valuable resources for not only creating dictionaries and such, but also studying language change among other things (Meyer 2002, 28).

As for the present study, the use of newspaper data as a source for an analysis of an aspect of language is readily justified, as newspapers in general tend to contain many different types of texts, such as news and reports, as well as commentary, feature articles, reviews, editorials and such (Lindquist 2009, 21), giving a representative sample of "real" language. Newspapers are a good source for corpus data also because their relatively uniform format world-wide gives them global comparability (ibid., 62). As a source for analyses on language change journalistic prose is ideal, as it is remarked to be innovative and having a tendency to pick up new trends quickly (ibid., 62-3).

Concerning the presentation of the results of corpus studies, there are various statistical methods and conventions. With quantitative methods (based on frequencies) it is often the case that the results obtained in the analysis of a corpus are merely presented as themselves, as they would seem to be sufficiently illustrative as they are. Even with this sort of very basic method of presenting the results it is important to normalize the frequencies of the findings, not to merely present the raw numbers, as they might prove misleading when comparing the data from two or more different-sized corpora (ibid., 42). The most common method to normalize frequencies is to first divide the raw number of tokens with the total number of words in the corpus, and then to multiply the result with, for example, 1 000 000 (which is the most common number for the standardization of frequencies).

In addition to simple normalized frequencies, more sophisticated methods have been designed to measure the 'statistical significance' of the results of corpus studies (ibid., 37). These tests of statistical significance can be useful to show that linguistic changes are indeed meaningful, not coincidental. Unfortunately, many such tests, such as the chi-square test, tend to be unreliable when the numbers analysed are small, which they are often inclined to be in linguistic analyses (ibid., 40). The applicability of these methods is problematic in the linguistic context also because not many linguists tend to be equipped to using such methods (ibid., 37).

3.3. The present study

The main purpose of the present study was to conduct a diachronic corpus study on the use of Maori borrowings in New Zealand English. For that purpose, 15 Maori words and phrases borrowed into New Zealand English were chosen to search for in the CNZNE. These particular words and phrases have been used in similar previous studies, and were chosen for the following reasons. Firstly, mostly words having to do with social culture were included, to test Macalister's (2006b) hypothesis of especially these words becoming more familiar to speakers of New Zealand English, thus having the most potential to be increasing in use. Secondly, I chose to include two material culture words (*kai*, *waka*), to provide a point of comparison to the social culture words, to further test Macalister's hypothesis. Thirdly, I chose to use all the social culture words used by Davies and Maclagan (2006), overlapping with those in Macalister's studies, to be able to compare my results with theirs, as my second subcorpus contains similar but more recent data than that used in their study. Even though my method differs somewhat from that used by Davies and Maclagan, who counted the number of news items containing Maori words rather than tokens of the words, the qualitative part of my study (the context of the Maori borrowings) is equivalent to the context analysis conducted by Davies and Maclagan. Thus, my study of 15 Maori words and the contexts of four of these words allow me to regard my study as both an extension and expansion to these previous studies by Macalister as well as Davies and Maclagan.

Below is a table listing the words used in this study, showing based on which study each word was chosen, as well as their categorization according to Macalister.

Word	Gloss	Davies & Maclagan (2006)	Macalister (2006b/2008) social culture	Macalister (2006b/2008) material culture	Macalister (2006b) no gloss
aroha	love, sympathy		x		x
hikoi	march	x	x		
hui	meeting	x	x		x
iwi	tribe	x			x
kai	food, meal; to eat				x
kaitiaki	guardian or protector	x	x		
karakia	incantations, prayer		x		x
kaumatua	elder	x	x		x
kaupapa	philosophy	x			
mana	authority, prestige, influence				x
tangata whenua	people of the land (i.e. the Maori)	x			x
te reo	the Maori language (lit. 'the language')		x		
waka	canoe; vehicle			x	x
whakapapa	genealogy	x	x		
whanau	(extended) family	x			x

Table 1. The words used in the present study with their glosses and sources.

The rightmost column in the above table, 'Macalister (2006b) no gloss' indicates the words that would not be glossed according to Macalister's own newspaper data from the year 2000, as they are assumed to be borrowings that are either firmly established or familiar enough for the greater public to not require a gloss (which is a note, explanation or interpretation of a difficult or foreign word according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*).

All these 15 words were searched for in the two subcorpora from the years 1996 and 2012, and all the occurrences checked manually to exclude instances of proper names and words that occurred as part of stretches of Maori language. The tokens were counted and their frequencies normalized. The possible glosses occurring with the words were also counted. Next, four of the words with the most potential to be used in a neutral or non-Maori context were chosen (based on Davies & Maclagan's observations, as well as my own; see section 4.2. for a more detailed discussion) and all their occurrences checked in the corpus to count the instances in which the word was used 1) in a Maori context or 2) in a neutral and/or non-Maori context. No test of statistical significance was applied to the final results, as they were deemed to be too small to yield reliable results. The qualitative analysis of word context was considered a good alternate approach to illustrating the findings and their possible significance.

As the number of words in this study is limited, I regard each vocabulary item as a miniature case study, an approach that will become evident especially in connection with my investigation into the context in which four of these words were used in the data. Thus, my results might not provide ground-breaking, generalizable new information about New Zealand English, but a more detailed snapshot of an aspect of the variety, and perhaps some indication of the direction in which NZE is headed.

4 DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter I will present the results of the diachronic corpus study on the presence of 15 Maori borrowings in New Zealand English newspaper data in the years 1996 and 2012. In the first section, 4.1., I will present the frequencies of the words in the data, noting tendencies, diachronic change and trends in glossing. The second section, 4.2., is reserved for the word context analysis of four of the words in this study, providing illustrations of how these words are used in New Zealand English. The third section, 4.3., of this chapter provides a discussion on the findings of the present study, attempting to explain and contextualize the results based on previous studies' observations and conclusions.

4.1. Maori words in New Zealand English 1996-2012

Below is a table presenting the raw number of tokens and normalized frequencies of the 15 Maori borrowings studied for this thesis, based on New Zealand newspaper data from the years 1996 and 2012. Three words (*hikoi*, *kai*, *karakia*) did not have tokens in the 1996 data (but see footnote 2 for their tokens and frequencies in the additional 1997 data).

	Tokens		Normalized frequency	
	1996[2]	2012	1996	2012
aroha	2	14	0,23	0,71
*hikoi**	-	62	-	3,15
hui	46	216	5,38	10,99
iwi	86	1105	10,05	56,23
*kai**	-	26	-	1,32
kaitiaki	1	22	0,12	1,12
*karakia**	-	31	-	1,58
kaumatua	16	87	1,87	4,43

[2] * = 1997 subcorpus (26 143 688 words): *hikoi* 12 tokens (normalized frequency 0,46); *kai* 2 tokens (0,08); *karakia* 21 tokens (0,80)

kaupapa	3	6	0,35	0,31
mana	31	95	3,62	4,83
tangata whenua	20	33	2,34	1,68
te reo	4	206	0,47	10,48
waka	18	90	2,10	4,58
whakapapa	6	27	0,70	1,37
whanau	18	300	2,10	15,27

Table 2. Tokens and normalized frequencies of the Maori words studied in the 1996 and 2012 subcorpora.

In general, a rather clear pattern of increased frequency can be observed from these results, excluding the words *kaupapa* and *tangata whenua*, the frequency of which decreased between the years studied. Although the words *hikoi*, *kai* and *karakia* did not appear in the 1996 data, they have modest (to say the least) occurrences in the 1997 data, and the number of occurrences has followed the trend of increasing usage by 2012 with all three words. Having said that, the overall frequencies of the Maori borrowings studied here are very low. Only one word (*iwi*) has a frequency of more than 10 in 1996, and even in the 2012 data there are only four such words (*iwi*, *whanau*, *hui*, *te reo*).

Even if most of the frequencies of the words studied here are very low, the results show a large range in the number of tokens and normalized frequencies, from the highest, which is the word *iwi* in 2012, with 1105 tokens and a normalized frequency of 56,23, to the lowest (excluding the words with no occurrences in 1996), which is *kai* in 1997 with 2 tokens and a normalized frequency of 0,08. Below is a table illustrating the range, ranking the words studied by popularity in 1996 and 2012 on the basis of their normalized frequency.

1996	2012
iwi 10,05	*iwi* 56,23
hui 5,38	*whanau* 15,27
mana 3,62	*hui* 10,99
tangata whenua 2,34	*te reo* 10,48
waka 2,10	*mana* 4,83
whanau 2,10	*waka* 4,58
kaumatua 1,87	*kaumatua* 4,43
whakapapa 0,70	*hikoi* 3,15
te reo 0,47	*tangata whenua* 1,68
kaupapa 0,35	*karakia* 1,58
aroha 0,23	*whakapapa* 1,37
kaitiaki 0,12	*kai* 1,32
hikoi –	*kaitiaki* 1,12
kai –	*aroha* 0,71
karakia –	*kaupapa* 0,31

Table 3. Word popularity by normalized frequency.

The word *iwi* was the overall most frequent Maori borrowing of the words in the present study, as it is the most frequent item in both the 1996 and 2012 data. Davies and Maclagan also found in their study that *iwi* was the most frequent Maori word based on the number of newspaper articles it appeared in at least once between the years 1997 and 2004 (Davies & Maclagan 2006, 87). Although the frequencies of individual words are mostly low in the findings of the present study, the overall normalized frequencies are higher in 2012 (average 7,87) than in 1996 (average 2,44), which can be considered an illustration of Maori borrowings' increased use.

Considering the hypothesis of this thesis set by Macalister, the word pair *waka* and *whanau* provide a neat illustration of the differences between social and material culture words and their presumed trajectory of popularity. Both words have a normalized frequency of 2,10 in the 1996 data, but there is a significant difference in their frequencies in the 2012 data: *whanau* occurs with a

frequency of 15,27, while the frequency of *waka* is only 4,58. Thus, Macalister's hypothesis of especially social culture words becoming more familiar and, as a natural development, more popular, would seem to be valid based on this word pair.

Another approach to looking at the changes in the frequencies of the words studied is to look at the relative amount of change each word has experienced between the years studied. Looking at the findings from this angle provides us with a ranking that looks somewhat different from the frequency based popularity ranking of the words, as illustrated below:

te reo	0,47/10,48 (+2130%)
*kai**	0,08/1,32 (+1550%)
kaitiaki	0,12/1,12 (+833%)
whanau	2,10/15,27 (+627%)
*hikoi**	0,46/3,15 (+585%)
iwi	10,05/56,23 (+460%)
aroha	0,23/0,71 (+209%)
kaumatua	1,87/4,43 (+137%)
waka	2,10/4,58 (+118%)
hui	5,38/10,99 (+104%)
*karakia**	0,80/1,58 (+98%)
whakapapa	0,70/1,37 (+96%)
mana	3,62/4,83 (+33%)
kaupapa	0,35/0,31 (-11%)
tangata whenua	2,34/1,68 (-28%)

Table 4. Word popularity by relative change 1996-2012 (= relative change 1997-2012)*

Here we see that the Maori word for language, *te reo*, has experienced the biggest relative change in frequency of the words studied, occurring in the 2012 data over twenty times more frequently than in 1996. All but three words (*mana*, *kaupapa*, *tangata whenua*) have at least doubled in frequency, many

of them occurring even more frequently than double the 1996 frequency in 2012. Based on Macalister's second implementation of his word familiarity survey, the social culture words *hikoi*, *whakapapa*, *te reo* and *kaitiaki* (and *karakia* to a minimal extent) had an increased familiarity score between 2002 and 2007 (2008, 86). As can be observed from the above table, the present study finds that all of the aforementioned words are among the words which have at least doubled their frequency, with *hikoi*, *te reo* and *kaitiaki* having experienced an even bigger increase. With these words in particular, their increased familiarity to New Zealanders is likely to have contributed to their increased usage.

Again, considering the hypothesis originating from Macalister's studies of especially words having to do with social culture becoming more popular it is interesting to note that the word with the second biggest relative increase in use is the Maori word *kai*, a material culture word. Having said that, the frequency at which *kai* occurs in the data is very low in both 1997 (0,08) and 2012 (1,32), meaning that the word's actual use is minimal. Thus, its increase, although sizeable relatively speaking, is hardly a meaningful finding.

A more clearly contradictory result, based on Davies and Maclagan's findings, is the decrease in frequency of the word *kaupapa*. According to Davies and Maclagan's study, *kaupapa* is increasing in use (2006, 86), and 'likely to become more commonplace' by itself rather than in the more frequent phrases such as *kura kaupapa (Maori)* ('Maori language school') (ibid., 79). The findings of the present study, however, indicate that *kaupapa* continues to be used rather in the phrase *kura kaupapa* (*Maori*) than by itself, as the approximately 30 hits for *kaupapa* in both the 1996 and the 2012 data mostly consisted of this phrase, with only 3 (1996) and 6 (2012) instances of *kaupapa* by itself (with the respective normalized frequencies of 0,35 and 0,31).

When it comes to the glossing of the words studied, four of the words were not glossed in either the 1996 or the 2012 data (*hui*, *kai*, *te reo*, *waka*). Four words (*iwi*, *kaumatua*, *kaupapa*, *tangata whenua*) only had glosses in the 1996 data, two words (*aroha* and *mana*) only had glosses in the 2012

data(!) and five words (*hikoi*, *kaitiaki*, *karakia*, *whakapapa*, *whanau*) had glosses in both the 1996 (or 1997) and 2012 data. Below is a table listing all the words that were glossed along with the numbers of glosses as well as the percentage of the glossed words out of all the tokens of the word in the data for the particular year.

	1996 *1997 data	2012
aroha	-	1 (7%)
*hikoi**	3 (25%)	1 (2%)
iwi	8 (9%)	-
kaitiaki	1 (100%)	10 (45%)
*karakia**	11 (52%)	3 (10%)
kaumatua	4 (25%)	-
kaupapa	1 (33%)	-
mana	-	2 (2%)
tangata whenua	1 (5%)	-
whakapapa	2 (33%)	2 (7%)
whanau	3 (17%)	2 (0,67%)

Table 5. Words glossed.

A general decrease in both the number of words glossed and the percentage of glossed tokens out of all tokens can be observed based on these results, giving further evidence for New Zealanders' growing familiarity with Maori borrowings. In the 1996/1997 data there were altogether 9 words that were glossed, and the average percentage of glossing was 33%. In the 2012 data there were 7 words that had a gloss of any kind, and the average percentage of glossing was 11%.

A comparison between the words that had no glosses in the data (*hui*, *kai*, *te reo*, *waka*) and the words that were most frequently glossed (*kaitiaki*, *karakia*, *whakapapa*, *kaupapa*) yields a neat illustration of which of the words studied are older, more established loans that denote some very

basic concepts (not glossed) and which are more recent or unfamiliar loans whose meaning might be somewhat more difficult to define in English (frequently glossed).

When compared to Macalister's findings on words that would not be glossed based on newspaper data from the year 2000 (2006b), there are surprises in the findings of the present study, namely the glosses for the words *aroha* (1), *karakia* (3) and *mana* (2) in the 2012 data. Although the glosses are few, in case of *aroha* and *karakia* they account for around one tenth of all the instances of these words in the 2012 data. More curiously, neither *aroha* nor *mana* were glossed once in the 1996 data. Still, as the 2012 glosses for *aroha* and *mana* are practically single cases, they cannot be considered strong indicators of a contradictory trend to Macalister's findings. *Karakia*, similarly, although glossed several times in the 2012 data, was glossed in the 1997 data in half of all the instances of the word, and so its glossing has in any case decreased quite markedly from 52% to 10% between the years 1997 and 2012.

Before moving on to the results of the context analysis section, there is a brief note to be made regarding the *–s* pluralization of the words studied here. As mentioned in section 2.3. of this thesis, the pluralization of Maori borrowings with *–s* is nowadays not encouraged, although it often was up to the yearly 2000s. An additional search for the words studied here pluralized with *–s* did not produce conflicting results, although there were four instances of *–s* pluralization in the more recent, 2012 data; there was one instance of *huis* and three instances of *wakas*. Even in the older 1996 data there were only 14 instances of *–s* pluralization to be found: two *huis*, six *iwis* and six *wakas*. Based on the words studied here, Maori borrowings do not seem to usually conform into English spelling conventions, at least when *–s* pluralization is concerned.

Next, I will present the results of the context analysis of four of the words studied for the present study before discussing the results of the present study in the theoretical framework of this thesis in detail.

4.2. The context of Maori loanwords

To extend the scope of the present study somewhat further, a qualitative analysis was performed on the context in which four of the words studied here were used in the data, with the specific aim of finding instances of the words used in place of or in addition to an English word with similar meaning without the immediate Maori connection. In practice this meant looking for words that were used in a thematically neutral context, where the item or concept they referred to related to the general New Zealand culture or all New Zealanders, not only the Maori or their culture. This was done in order to illustrate and ascertain that Maori borrowings are used in non-Maori contexts as well, which in turn demonstrates the degree to which these words have been accepted and integrated into the English spoken in New Zealand.

The words chosen for this analysis were *hikoi*, *hui*, *kaumatua* and *whanau*. The words *hikoi*, *hui* and *kaumatua* were deemed to have the most potential in being used in a neutral context based on Davies and Maclagan's study (2006), which found some non-Maori contexts in which *hikoi* and *hui* were used. Although Davies and Maclagan note that according to John Macalister the word *kaumatua* has also been known to be used in a non-Maori context, they found no such instances in their data (2006, 82-3). Since the present study is based on more recent data than that used by Davies and Maclagan, *kaumatua* was included in the analysis to further test Macalister's claim on its neutral usage. In addition to the aforementioned three words, the word *whanau* was included in the analysis, based on personal observations of its neutral use in spoken New Zealand English.

Any qualitative investigation is ultimately based on subjective judgements, and sometimes those judgements are difficult to make especially with unclear cases. When analysing the instances of the aforementioned four words, the concept of thematic neutrality came into question on several occasions. The most difficult cases to judge were instances where the words were used in a seemingly neutral context, but their use could have been motivated because of the writer or quoted speaker's personal motives and identification or because of the surrounding context, not Maori *per se* but

thematically related. Originally the identity of the author or speaker quoted was not considered a criterion in the analysis, because the corpus data did not readily offer such information. In some cases, however, the source of direct quotes was clearly indicated in the text, and when such a person could easily be identified as Maori, the instances of Maori words uttered by these people could not be said to be truly neutral. Accordingly, cases where the author or speaker quoted could be clearly identified as Maori, or the context invoked a strong thematic connection to the Maori, the Maori words used were not counted as neutral occurrences of the words.

Additional judgement issues were created by double word constructions such as 'hikoi and/or march' and to a lesser extent 'family and/or whanau', the most ambiguous of which were ultimately left out of the final numbers as problematic cases. These constructions will be dealt with in detail towards the end of this section.

The first word context analysis was performed on the Maori word for a march, *hikoi*. Below is a table indicating the contexts in which *hikoi* was used in the 1997 and 2012 data.

1997		2012	
Maori context	Neutral context	Maori context	Neutral context
12 (100%)	-	9 (15%)	51 (82%)

Table 6. Context of hikoi ('march')

In the earlier data (1997 in this case as there were no instances of *hikoi* in the 1996 data) all the contexts in which *hikoi* was used were thematically Maori. In a rather dramatic development, the data from the year 2012 tells a very different story, where the majority of the instances of *hikoi* were used in a neutral context. However, behind this seemingly dramatic development is what is often referred to as a news-driven effect, where a single event or topic is frequently talked about inside a relatively short period of time, contributing to the temporarily increased usage of the key words used to write the stories on the event or topic (Davies & Maclagan 2006, 85). In the case of *hikoi* this event was

the marches organized against the sale of New Zealand state assets in 2012 – the instances of *hikoi* used in connection with this topic cover 41 of the 51 neutral instances. Still, even without the instances of *hikoi* having to do with the asset sales, there were ten other neutral instances of the word in the 2012 data, indicating that it has been accepted and integrated into New Zealand English at least to an extent.

Among the neutral instances of *hikoi* there was one instance of the tautological expression 'peaceful hikoi'. The expression is tautological because the idea of peacefulness is inherent in the original Maori word and concept, which is evident in the word often being glossed as 'peaceful march' (Davies & Maclagan 2006, 84). Here is the example found in the data of the present study:

> (1) Among the group initially denied entry to the meeting at Wanganui Hospital was board member and district councillor Clive Solomon, and his fellow district councillor Hamish McDouall. They had been part of a "peaceful hikoi" that marched from the city centre. (DP_03_03_2012_10)

The above example illustrates how the full or original meaning of these Maori borrowings might not always be either clear or obvious to everyone who uses these words. Then again, as the above example describes an incident where peaceful protesters were denied entry to a hospital, it is a context in which the non-aggressive approach of the protesters could be intentionally underlined by using the tautological expression.

As already mentioned, among the instances of *hikoi* there were two uses of the word together with its English equivalent in a structure 'hikoi and/or march'. These cases proved challenging for the analysis because they could be considered either cases of Maori-specific vocabulary or neutral usage in English, depending on whether the word of Maori origin was seen to be used in an identical or complementary meaning to its English equivalent in the construction. The issue of the double forms and their possible functions will be dealt with later in this section.

The next word to be analysed was *hui*. The results of the context analysis are as follows:

1996		2012	
Maori context	Neutral context	Maori context	Neutral context
43 (93%)	3 (7%)	204 (94%)	12 (6%)

Table 7. Context of hui ('meeting').

The contexts in which *hui* was used were for the most part Maori in both the 1996 and 2012 data, and the division remained surprisingly constant over the years studied, indicating that *hui* is not used increasingly in a neutral context based on the newspaper data studied here.

Unlike *hikoi*, *hui* exhibited cases of neutral usage already in the older data. Here is an example from the 1996 data describing students' network of communication via email as an 'electronic hui':

> (2) ELECTRONIC HUI: STUDENTS who are not interested in literature can find e-mail exciting because of its immediacy and personal nature. Teachers find that the skill level required is low. Schools have used e-mail to chat to classes in New Zealand and overseas about what they are doing in English, to swap book reviews and for general conversation. "It really empowers students," says Ms Hallmark, "it is an electronic hui – I believe in that." (DO_29_04_1996_71)

Among the instances of *hui* in a neutral context in the 2012 data we find an example of a Maori word used in a rhyming, headline-worthy construction, possibly to humorous ends:

> (3) AFTER 24 speakers had addressed the Transit of Venus Forum, entrepreneur Ian Taylor summed up what many were thinking: "When and how do we move from hui to do-ey?" He pitched the question to a round of applause at the end of the last session in Gisborne yesterday. More than 200 people listened to the experts cover a diverse range of topics, much of it focusing on how science can be brought into mainstream New Zealand life and business. (DP_08_06_2012_90)

The news-driven effect also affected *hui* to some extent in the 2012 data, with articles discussing particular local government issues accounting for 7 of the 12 neutral instances of *hui*. These seven neutral tokens of *hui* are an important illustration, however, of the history of adoption of the word as an alternative for the word *meeting*, as discussed by Davies and Maclagan, according to whom it was in fact government departments who began originally using *hui* as an inclusive as well as somewhat less formal of an alternative to *meeting* (2006, 92).

Next, here are the context analysis results for the word *kaumatua*:

1996		2012	
Maori context	Neutral context	Maori context	Neutral context
16 (100%)	-	87 (100%)	-

Table 8. Context of kaumatua ('elder')

As discussed, although Davies and Maclagan quote Macalister as saying that *kaumatua* is sometimes used in neutral contexts in New Zealand English, Davies and Maclagan did not find any instances of such use in their study. The findings of the present study are similarly contradictory; even with data many years more recent than that used by Davies and Maclagan, there were no instances of *kaumatua* used in a neutral context even in the 2012 data, nor the 1996 data of this study. The possible reasons behind this will be discussed in the next section.

The fourth and final word whose context of use was analysed was *whanau*. Below are the results of the analysis:

1996		2012	
Maori context	Neutral context	Maori context	Neutral context
15 (83%)	3 (17%)	291 (97%)	8 (3%)

Table 9. Context of whanau ('(extended) family').

Here we see that neutral uses of *whanau* were found in both the 1996 and 2012 data, but there were actually less neutral cases in the more recent data. Among the neutral uses of the word, there were several idiomatic (examples 4 and 5), even humorous expressions (such as example 6) where *family* was substituted with *whanau*:

> (4) PICK OF THE DAY BACK TO THE FUTURE … From a time when family movies really meant entertainment for the whole whanau, this 1985 sci-fi rom-com blends wonderment and nostalgia to create a rollicking adventure. Michael J Fox is at his

> charismatic best, while Christopher Lloyd was perfectly cast as the eccentric scientist Dr Emmett Brown. (DP_03_04_2012_3)
>
> (5) Mrs B and I have been known to nick over the sea to see our whanau and friends in the West Island and, in recent years, there has been plenty of interest in The Block over there. (TD_07_07_2012_50)
>
> (6) Selling down the whanau's silverware and listing them on the stock market is as much his stock in trade as a gas axe is to a fitter. (TD_21_07_2012_52)

In addition, similar to the tautological case of 'peaceful hikoi' there were two instances of 'extended whanau' used in the data, as well as the following example:

> (7) Frank, Lower Hutt A. I applaud your subtle putdown or pigeon-holing of one's extended foe and **whanau** by selecting different animals for different kettles of poisson. I believe a commemorative rat stamp has also been issued earlier this year to celebrate the Year of the Rat and I suggest the stamp would come in handy when communicating with traffic officers, insurance people and paedophiles. (DO_11_03_1996_66)

Regarding the issue of the author or quoted speaker discussed at the beginning of this section, it became particularly evident in connection to the word *whanau*. There were several cases where the topic of the newspaper article was neutral, but a quoted speaker was readily identifiable as Maori, or someone using a Maori word to invoke a thematic connection to the Maori. Such articles often had to do with social issues or tragic events of some form or another. This is not surprising considering such topics often provoke comments relating to family connections and support nets, or the lack thereof.

With *whanau* there were similar issues with double forms as there were with *hikoi*, as there were several instances where *whanau* was used together with the word *family*. According to Davies and Maclagan, when a Maori word is used together with its English counterpart, it has cultural specificity (2006, 92). This could either mean that the word is used Maori-specifically for inclusive purposes, or that the word has a complementary sense to its English equivalent but which is not necessarily completely Maori-specific thematically. Indeed, Davies and Maclagan note that English is full of examples of word pairs that have largely similar, but somewhat differing meanings (such as skin/hide, skill/craft; 2006, 93).

With *hikoi*, there is true potential for the word to be used in a complementary sense to *march*, as unlike the English word originating from a more confrontational military background, a *hikoi* is inherently a peaceful protest (ibid.). Below is an example illustrating an ambiguous context:

> (8) No person, no organisation, no government, has decreed that "we" – New Zealand – is for sale. It is only the emotive banners we see in marches and hikoi, and equally and worse emotive words from politicians and their underlings who are promoting "our" sale. (DP_07_05_2012_67)

Here, the author could well be talking about both peaceful and more confrontational marches, using *hikoi* with a culturally specific meaning (where *hikoi* is a peaceful march in accordance to the original Maori concept). Still, the word could also be used for inclusive purposes, where *hikoi* would serve as the Maori equivalent for the English *march*.

The similar double constructions with *whanau* are less ambiguous as a whole. In some cases the context would seem to support the complementary 'extended family' meaning of *whanau*, but in others it seems unlikely. The following three examples illustrate different cases with their own particular considerations:

> (9) Among the essential features of the curriculum are: (1) reflective practice which will involve staff in careful, focused observation leading to informed assessment and evaluation of the curriculum, children and programmes, and (2) a close partnership with parents and whanau. **(**DO_26_08_1996_74)

> (10) "Most principals described themselves as minimally supported or unsupported by the Ministry of Education. The areas in which principals felt most supported were making OTJs, and reporting to families and whanau, while they felt least supported to moderate OTJs," the report found. (TD_22_09_2012_30)

> (11) "Offenders will be supported to learn the skills necessary to lead a crime-free and self-sufficient life – such as securing and maintaining accommodation and employment, and reconnecting with whanau, family and the wider community," she said. (TD_30_11_2012_52)

The first example (9), discussing the implications of a new early childhood curriculum for New Zealand kindergartens, is the least ambiguous example as it actually contains the construction 'parents and whanau' rather than 'families and/or whanau', but it is an interesting parallel to the other two cases. Here the most intuitive meaning for *whanau* would be 'extended family', as it is a broader

concept than ‘parents’. Accordingly, it would seem odd to assume that *whanau* was used in an inclusive sense in this case, meaning that the Maori word *whanau* would be equal to the meaning ‘parents’. Thus, example (9) is an illustration of *whanau* used in a neutral, ‘extended family’ meaning.

The second example (10), on the other hand, has more potential of being an illustration of an inclusive use of *whanau* as a Maori equivalent for *family* rather than a complementary sense for the English equivalent. Touching upon the subject of education as well, the extract talks about reporting to schoolchildren’s ‘families and whanau’. In this instance it does not seem intuitive to assume that schools should report to schoolchildren’s extended families, but rather their immediate families, which are in this case referred to as both ‘families’ and ‘whanau’ for the sake of inclusivity. Thus, the word would in this case seem to refer to Maori families rather than extended families.

The third example (11), is the most ambiguous one of these three examples here. The subject of the extract is the rehabilitation of prisoners, and the actual expression used is ‘whanau, family and the wider community’ when talking about the prisoners reconnecting with these aforementioned entities. It is reasonable enough to assume that the word *whanau* could mean ‘extended family’ in this context, meaning it would have a neutral meaning. Then again, the arrangement of the words does support the inclusive use and Maori interpretation of *whanau*, since it would seem more natural to arrange the words from the smallest to the largest unit in case *whanau* stood for ‘extended family’. Other than that, the thematic context of the news article also supports the Maori interpretation of *whanau*, as the fact remains that, similar to African American citizens of the US, the Maori are more likely to be imprisoned than Pakeha New Zealanders. Still, example (11) is genuinely ambiguous concerning the thematic neutrality or specificity of the word *whanau*.

The future trajectory concerning the contextual use of especially the words looked at here, but others as well would be an interesting subject to study, to see whether these words integrate into English as complementary equivalents for the English words, or continue to exhibit cultural specificity that always invokes a Maori context.

4.3. Discussion and summary of findings

The background chapter of this thesis consisted of a look into New Zealand English as a variety of English, and more specifically Postcolonial English, its characteristics and development. Special attention was given to NZE's most distinguishing feature, namely its lexicon, and most importantly the words borrowed from the Maori language. Throughout the relatively short history of New Zealand as a country inhabited by Anglophones, the identity of its inhabitants has been shaped by various circumstances. In many ways, the path of development of New Zealand English in this context has not been unique, as theorized by Edgar W. Schneider, but the part that is unique to New Zealand and New Zealand English has everything to do with the Maori, their indigenous culture and language.

The findings of the present study, as presented in the previous sections, are part of a continuum of studies attempting to define and track the development of the defining features of New Zealand English. These findings show that the Maori component of NZE continues to gain importance as a marker of New Zealand identity, both in a linguist as well as a national sense. The increasing frequency of Maori borrowings in newspaper data, along with the fact that at least three of these words are used in neutral, non-Maori contexts confirms the findings of many a previous study, according to which all New Zealanders use Maori words in increasing numbers and are also more familiar with them than in the past. In addition, the fact that the words studied here mainly did not conform to the English grammar in the case of *–s* pluralization indicates that Maori words are being treated in a particular, respectful way within NZE.

In accordance with Macalister's and Davies and Maclagan's previous studies, the present study confirms that New Zealanders seem to indeed be using more and more Maori words in their written English, and be more familiar with these borrowings, as was evident from the decreasing trend in glossing. The word pair *waka* and *whanau* provided a case study for Macalister's claim that words to do with social culture especially are becoming more and more familiar to New Zealanders, and are thus most likely to be increasing in use. In the results we see that *whanau*, a social culture word, was

much more frequent in the 2012 data than *waka*, although their frequency was the same in the 1996 data, confirming Macalister's claim.

Considering relative change in the frequency of the words studied here, it was not surprising to find that the word *te reo* had experienced the biggest relative increase, having increased its frequency to one greater by more than twenty times between the years 1996 and 2012. It is an indication that the topic of the Maori language is an increasingly important one in New Zealand newspaper discourse. The fact that the most popular of the Maori words studied here of both the year 1996 and 2012 was the word *iwi*, on the other hand, illustrates the fact that the Maori are very often discussed only in the context of their cultural heritage, their communities and for example, disputes about ownership of tribal lands going back to the consequences of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Indeed, as shown by the findings of the context analysis section of the present study, a great majority of Maori words are at present used in New Zealand English to only discuss things having to do with or invoking a connection to the Maori, not general New Zealand topics. The original idea for conducting this context analysis came from Davies and Maclagan's previous study, which found that at least *hikoi* and *hui* are words which are not used only to refer to Maori topics, but also used in a general sense. The present study similarly found that *hikoi* and *hui*, as well as *whanau* are sometimes used in a general, often complementary sense to the English equivalent, even though some cases where both the Maori and English word were used were difficult to analyse when it comes to the Maoriness or generalness of the context. Still, this general use is not very common with the Maori borrowings, and only the word *hikoi* showed an increase in this area.

Although according to Davies and Maclagan the word *kaumatua* has also been used in a general sense based on Macalister's findings, neither Davies and Maclagan nor the present study found any instances of this. This could be due to the degree to which there is cultural specificity in the word *kaumatua*. Even if *hikoi* and *whanau* similarly have a meaning in Maori that is slightly different from their English equivalent, their senses are complementary to their English equivalents in a very useful

way. The Maori word and concept *kaumatua* implies a certain status of respectability and wisdom, which is not necessarily present in the English word *elder*, nor in the general concept for elderly people in the Anglophone society (Davies & Maclagan 2006, 91). This discrepancy also accounts for the difficulties and inconsistencies in glossing and translating *kaumatua* into English (ibid.).

An important further note on the words that were used in a neutral context would be the fact that examples (3)-(6) in this thesis illustrated instances where the words *hui* and *whanau* were used in humorous, often phrasal constructions in the place of an English equivalent. These might well be instances of Maori words used to make an impact, in this case humorous, as noted by Macalister (2007, 502). Uses such as these indicate that these words are a part of the everyday repertoire of newspaper journalists behind these examples, as representatives of speakers of general New Zealand English.

The double constructions with *hikoi* and *whanau* and their English equivalents as presented in the previous section, as well as the instances of tautological 'peaceful hikoi' and 'extended whanau', illustrated that the meaning of Maori borrowings in New Zealand English is somewhat unstable and contextually variable. In some cases the presence of an English equivalent served to complement, sometimes to highlight the Maori meaning and connection of the borrowing. Especially with *hikoi* and *whanau* it will be interesting to see whether their meaning in English gains a stable, complementary meaning to the words *march* and *family*. As mentioned, English is already full of examples of such word pairs that have survived within English because the difference in meaning is deemed useful or important. According to Algeo and Pyles '[l]oanwords have, as it were, a life of their own that cuts across the boundaries between languages' (2004, 271), meaning that only time will tell which direction Maori borrowings will take within New Zealand English.

Vis-à-vis Schneider's Dynamic Model and the still ongoing development of New Zealand English in the Model's framework, the increasing popularity and importance of Maori words within NZE is an interesting instance of 'continuing nativization' (Macalister 2007, 493) coinciding with the

early stages of dialectal fragmentation within the variety. If we add the variety known as Maori English to the equation, the situation becomes even more interesting. Since Maori words are considered both an important feature of general New Zealand English as well as Maori English, albeit for slightly different reasons, the future path of development of these two varieties in parallel to each other will be interesting to track. Based on the present study, questions such as the following arise: if Maori words, and the Maori culture and language in general continue to increase in importance and prominence within New Zealand and New Zealand English, will Maori English survive as a means to mark a separate identity that sympathizes with or affirms Maoriness? Furthermore, if the Maori language should gain popularity and become used in more domains and more commonly, would its influence on the English language be greater or smaller? And if Maori should die out, would the existing Maori borrowings within New Zealand English keep resisting grammatical adaptation because they are increasingly important "remnants" of the language, or become fully integrated members of NZE's lexicon?

5 CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to conduct a diachronic study on the presence of some selected Maori borrowings in New Zealand English, to verify and illustrate the change currently in progress within this variety of English. Based on previous studies, the underlying assumption was that Maori words are used ever more frequently in not only spoken, but also written New Zealand English, as a result of a change in the attitudes towards the Maori people and their language and culture that began because of varied socio-political reasons in the 1970s.

The wider frame for the present study is the current position of the English language in the world as an almost universal language, certainly a widely used lingua franca. Throughout its remarkable history, the English language has shown a special kind of adaptability, not only taking in influences, but also planting English all over the world. These local varieties, such as the Postcolonial Englishes discussed in this thesis, are a very special instance of language, hybrid varieties born out of intercultural contacts, with local roots that give these new varieties local flavour. New Zealand English, studied here, is one of the most fascinating subjects to study in the postcolonial context, as it is among the youngest varieties of English in the world. So young is the variety, in fact, that it is still developing further characteristics of its own. In addition to this, the youth of New Zealand English makes it very special for linguists interested in language change and the birth of language variation, because of its brief history that is so well documented.

The subject proper of the present study, the Maori words borrowed into New Zealand English, are considered the defining feature of the variety, and of special interest because scholars have remarked that their use is changing. This change seems to reflect the societal change of New Zealand. For a long time, the Maori were not only suppressed, but also denied their language and almost driven into extinction. Even today they are but a minority in their own country, as so many other indigenous peoples around the world, and their heritage language is in danger of dying out.

In the 1970s, something happened to change New Zealand for good. Because of originally economic reasons, New Zealanders were forced to turn to their own country for reinforcements of identity, to create a nation and an identity that was truly their own. One of the biggest discoveries that followed was that what was most unique about New Zealand were surely the Maori, and their culture and language. As a consequence, the 1970s were a time of cultural revival and new-found appreciation for the Maori, a time often referred to as the Maori Renaissance. To this day, all things Maori seem to be in the process of gaining an ever more important position in the culture of New Zealand, not to mention the changing position of the words borrowed from Maori within New Zealand English.

As discussed in sections 2.2. and 2.3. of this thesis, Maori borrowings have been an important part of New Zealand English from its very beginning. NZE is a typical Postcolonial English in that the initial borrowings taken from Maori follow the pattern of order in semantic category outlined by Edgar W. Schneider in his Dynamic Model for the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes. What is unusual about NZE is what John Macalister calls 'ongoing nativization', or a phenomenon also known as the second wave of Maori borrowings as discussed in section 2.1.2., coinciding with the Maori Renaissance. Because of the special circumstances in New Zealand, the treatment of old and new Maori borrowings has changed in a very special way in New Zealand English. These words are not only borrowed and used for the usual reasons having to do with gaps in the lexicon, cultural reference and such, but also to signal solidarity, empathy and a positive attitude, and also sometimes to make an impact. For the most part, Maori borrowings have also begun to resist conforming to the English grammar, not taking the *–s* plural, but exhibiting pluralization behaviour similar to that of the Maori language. All of this is according to many scholars an indication of the growing acceptance and better social and political status of the Maori language, as well as the people and culture.

The studies trying to verify the general hunch that people have about Maori words being used more have been many and varied, with their heyday in the 1990s and early 2000s. Most studies have

findings indicating increased usage of Maori words, as well as increased familiarity with Maori words in general. Some scholars are hopeful that the increasing use of Maori words could lead to increasing biculturalism, while others are already convinced that Maori words are a means for both Maori and Pakeha New Zealanders to express their New Zealand identities. The most pessimistic of scholars fear that in the future Maori might only survive within New Zealand English.

With a carefully constructed corpus of New Zealand newspaper English, the present study set out in the footprints of the aforementioned previous studies to continue studying how Maori words are used in the newspaper discourse of New Zealand. The large corpus of some 795 000 000 words provided the study with suitable material for a diachronic study based on the subcorpora containing data from the years 1996 and 2012, as well as 1997, additionally. Corpus linguistics methods were utilized to conduct the data extraction and analysis. The study of a corpus was justified because of its reliability and verifiability, among others, even though the present study can only present a limited analysis of NZE. Because the numbers that were analysed were so small, tests of statistical significance were not performed. Instead, an approach treating all the words studied as miniature case studies was adopted, in the hope of a more detailed snapshot of New Zealand English and a subtle hint at the direction in which the variety is headed.

To come full circle within this thesis, here are the research questions as stated in the introduction:

1) Does the use of Maori words increase diachronically?
2) Which Maori words are glossed, and does this tendency change diachronically?
3) In which contexts are Maori words used?

Based on the findings of this study, the answer to the first question is that the use of Maori words does increase diachronically in the case of 13 of the 15 words studied here. All but three of the words studied at least doubled in frequency between the years 1996 and 2012. In answer to the second

question, words that are either more recent borrowings or denote concepts that are difficult to translate are most commonly glossed, but the tendency to gloss words decreased considerably between the years studied. Concerning the third question, this study found that Maori words are mostly used in Maori contexts, although the word *hikoi* showed a trend towards favouring a neutral usage.

As for the general hypothesis for this thesis, the results confirm it as sound, and thus based on the present study it is reasonable to conclude that the increased use of Maori words would seem to indicate the Maori component's rising importance for Maori and Pakeha speakers of New Zealand English alike, as the marker of their linguistic as well as national identity. As fates of speaker communities tend to be reflected in language change (Schneider 2007, 22), so these changes in the use of Maori borrowings in New Zealand English seem to reflect the evolution of the position the Maori people and their language occupy in the New Zealand society, indicating an increasing importance and appreciation of all things Maori.

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